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THE Nation

July 6, 1946

Exclusive from Paris

A Vichy Regime for Spain?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

Britain's Greatest Gamble

BY ANDREW ROTH

*

Georgia's Negro Vote - - - - - - - - - *Ira De A. Reid*
The Jews That Remain - - - - - - - - *Joseph Dunner*
The Ruhr and the Rhineland - - - - *Fritz Sternberg*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE NATION APPLAUDS PRESIDENT TRUMAN for his courage in vetoing the Price Control Extension bill. As he rightly said in his message, Congress had presented him with a choice "between inflation with a statute and inflation without one." Now Congress must decide whether to leave prices to the mercy of the free market or to write a new bill which will afford genuine price control. Public opinion must be mobilized to insist on the second alternative, and to block any attempt to enact a modified version of the vetoed measure. No control at all is better than an invitation to speculators to hold back goods pending price increases which OPA could have delayed but not denied. That would have been the result of the Taft amendment which made it mandatory to allow manufacturers their 1941 profit margins plus all subsequent increases in costs. As the President pointed out, 1941 was the year when manufacturers enjoyed greater margins than in any year in history. This year, with volume in many lines mounting to new records, such margins would mean an unprecedented profits boom. Replying to Mr. Truman, Senator Taft (who never, never plays politics) complained that he was the victim of an unfair political attack. But he was very much on the defensive when he asserted that: "Any increase in prices of manufactured goods brought about by the Taft amendment would be of minor importance compared with the importance of actually being able to buy them." A crushing answer to this claim is provided by an article in *Business Week* of June 29, written before the veto, which declares: "Failure of Congress to act long ago on OPA extension has meant withholding of goods as we neared the June 30 deadline; now the compromise bill promises to cause a new round of holdbacks. The Taft amendment, for example, will encourage such practices."

*

THE SPANISH PLOT UNFOLDED BY DEL VAYO in this issue presents a sharp challenge to the State Department. It is one thing to stick grimly to past mistakes; it is a much worse thing deliberately to implicate oneself in new ones. From the beginning our policy on Spain has been a travesty of the principles we profess so loudly in international relations. If we compound our error by accepting a substitute Spanish regime contrived by dissident army men in Madrid to satisfy the squeamish tastes of the Vatican and the Foreign Office—and perhaps of General Franco, too—where shall we find an excuse to hide behind? Del Vayo suggests that American complicity is already a fact, but as long as Franco remains in office, enjoying the confusion into which the Spanish issue has thrown the Security Council, we have time to extricate ourselves. After Pétain and Badoglio, one would think the State Department must have lost its old appetite for regimes of "order." Here at last is a chance to end a shameful chapter in our dealings with fascism, to establish an independent democratic position. If this seems breaking the threads which have entangled us with Britain's policy from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, few Americans will mourn.

*

IN SPITE OF THE SOBER LANGUAGE USED BY Sir Alan G. Cunningham, in announcing the British military drive in Palestine, there is a sharp note of hysteria in the whole operation. To put the country into a virtual state of siege, conducting hundreds of raids, arrests, and searches in the chief cities and many of the communal settlements and invading the headquarters of the Jewish Agency itself, is to ask for trouble on a big scale. And to what end? Do the British authorities seriously expect to put down terrorist elements by turning their armed might against those responsible Jewish leaders who have steadily refused to continence acts of terror? So absurd is this pretense that one must look elsewhere for an explanation. What the British are apparently trying to do is to break up the Jewish defense force, the Hagana, as Mr. Atlee proposed in his speech in London after the publication of the report by the Joint Committee of Inquiry. If this is the purpose, we warn them that they will fail. The Hagana will become invisible, its arms will go underground—literally—but it will not disband. For the organization has become the resistance army of Jewish Palestine, and nothing can put it out of business except a new British policy there. The country-wide offensive against the Jews is an act of

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reckless provocation which will succeed only in building new barriers of hate and resentment, reducing still further the chance of a peaceful settlement. Such tactics will win little sympathy in America as long as the Joint Committee's report remains stalled in London.

*

THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH IS OVER. Or is it? After months of fanfare and trumpets, public relations efforts and public expenditures running into hundreds of millions, the fourth atom bomb in history was dropped over Bikini atoll. It will be months before the results of the test are all in, years before they are all released by the Navy. It is, therefore, out of a sense of obligation to our public that we present now our own findings based on radio reports from a yacht moored to a Long Island pier at which we were buying fresh lobsters. First, the test itself has probably done considerable damage to international good will by emphasizing that the atom bomb is part of our active war equipment and an integral part of our future military strategy. The Russians may well view with some suspicion those who talk about the immediate destruction of our bomb supply. Second, and following immediately on the first, the government-subsidized propaganda placed behind this giant Fourth of July explosion contrasts sadly with that behind the whole effort, domestic and international, to bring the development of atomic energy under control for the purpose of eliminating atomic weapons and releasing atomic energy for peacetime uses. Third, the test demonstrates the imperial arrogance induced by possession of this weapon when the American Navy could block off some hundreds of thousands of square miles of the Pacific and warn that any uninvited foreign ship or plane entering the area would be blown out of existence. Finally, the meager results of the test allowed to filter out may lull popular fears as to the potency of man's latest plaything. Apparently the 200,000 fairly innocent Japanese who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki will have died in vain.

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RETURNS FROM THE PRIMARIES CONTINUE to be mildly satisfactory. While the light vote indicates that the public is not awake to the need for a drastic clean-up in Congress, the minority who have taken the trouble to go to the polls have done reasonably well. In Maryland, Senator George L. Radcliffe, who was among those marked for defeat by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, lost to Governor Herbert R. O'Conor. Little is known of Governor O'Conor's views on national issues, but the voters could not be far wrong in assuming a change would be for the better. At the same time, W. Preston Lane, with the backing of the P. A. C., defeated the Tydings candidate, J. Millard Tawes, for Governor. Mr. Tawes made Moscow's alleged domina-

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tion of his opponent the main issue in his campaign. Especially heartening were the results in North Dakota, where Gerald P. Nye, arch-isolationist, ran a poor third in the short-term election for United States Senator. The victor, Milton P. Young, Republican, is by no means a progressive, but his record has been consistently better than Nye's. The Democratic candidate, P. W. Lanier, a World War II veteran, waged his campaign on a straight foreign-policy issue and received twice the votes of Nye. Although Senator Langer, who cast one of the two ballots against American participation in the United Nations, was renominated on the Republican ticket for the full-term Senate vacancy, his margin was unexpectedly small. Since Langer is personally popular in the state and has well-established political backing, the North Dakota results can hardly be reassuring to those who have staked their political future on a post-war revival of isolationism.

*

THE BRITISH CABINET MISSION TO INDIA is returning home with its task unfinished but not entirely empty handed. After months of gruelling labor it has induced both the major Indian political organizations, the Congress Party and the Moslem League, to accept the proposals for a United States of India which it brought forward when agreement on a joint plan between these two parties proved impossible. This achievement, unfortunately, does not necessarily mean that any basic unity of purpose has been established. Negotiations between the two parties with a view to setting up an interim government, pending the construction of a constitution, broke down, and this time the alternative scheme sponsored by the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy proved acceptable only to the Moslems. Congress rejected it because it involved nominal parity between the two groups, for Congress claims to speak for the vast majority of Indians, while the Moslem League admittedly represents a minority. In order to carry on the government the Viceroy is now proposing to name a "caretaker Cabinet" of officials, an obviously unsatisfactory expedient in a time of political and economic crisis. However, preparations for the election of a Constituent Assembly are going forward. The polls will provide a new test of political sentiment in the country, and when they are concluded it may prove possible to make a new approach to the problem of a representative interim government. In any case India is moving toward freedom, even though progress seems painfully slow. The British Labor government has shown that it means business and is not going to be discouraged by setbacks. The only remaining obstacles to independence are those which the Indians must roll away themselves. We hope their leaders will rise to the opportunity, refusing to allow factional differences to keep them from their goal.

Letter to Congressional Liberals

GENTLEMEN: In a few days the House will be called upon to give one of the most momentous votes in its history—the vote on the British loan. Our advices are that it will be a near thing, even though the issue is a non-partisan one. Since the conservatives on both sides are split, the action of the liberals may prove decisive. That is why we address this appeal to you to weigh with the utmost care the effects of a defeat for the loan.

Last year, when the agreement with Britain was being negotiated, most liberals were in favor of helping our recent ally to get back on its economic feet, but since that time the climate of opinion has changed. Some of you have been disgusted by arguments of reactionaries who have given their support to the loan solely because they think it is a good way of hitting at Russia. We consider these bad and stupid arguments, but to vote against the loan just because some crusted tories hail it as an anti-Soviet move would be to compound their error. The denial of help to Britain may worsen our relations with that country, but it does not follow that it would improve them with Russia. On the contrary, the defeat of the loan would surely serve to strengthen the isonationalist forces in this country, the vanguard of the anti-Soviet crusade.

Again there are some among you who feel that the behavior of the British government in regard to Palestine is a reason for voting against the loan. An adverse vote on that ground would be a gesture of protest, but would it be more than a gesture? Would it bring one Jewish D. P. one foot nearer the promised land? On the contrary, we believe that the rejection of the loan will make the British government less inclined to change its Palestine policy. The unwillingness of the British to implement the report of the Anglo-American Commission—and we do not say this in extenuation—arises in part from the fact that their resources are being stretched to the limit. They fear that abrogation of the White Paper might involve them in new commitments for man-power and foreign exchange, and they are desperately short of both. The denials of financial assistance will not make them bolder.

Apart from such considerations, we should like to suggest that the use of American financial and economic power to secure political ends is a dangerous policy. In some cases we may be able to buy complaisance, though not friendship, by means of loans to which irrelevant conditions are attached. But that is hardly likely in this instance. We beg you, therefore, to put aside your just criticisms of British imperial policy, criticisms which we have made ourselves on many occasions, and consider

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this matter of the British loan purely on its economic merits. We must not forget that this is not an isolated proposition. It is part and parcel of the post-war international economic program which owes its inception to the farsighted idealism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The loan, and the all-important agreement attached to it by which Britain undertakes to cooperate with the United States in plans for securing freedom of world trade, is one of a series of integrated measures which will serve to make effective the economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

That program cannot be carried out without British cooperation, simply because Britain plays so large a part in world trade. Those of you who have examined its post-war balance-of-trade problem will realize that, even with the aid of the loan, Britain will be hard pressed to restore its international trade to a level which will make possible the attainment of its pre-war standard of living. And without American assistance it will be compelled to fall back on remedies which will be detrimental to American interests and nullify all hopes of a multilateral extension of world commerce. As Secretary Byrnes has said, if the loan is defeated, the British will have to "buy what they need almost exclusively from countries which buy equal or larger amounts from them," or from countries "which are willing to accept payment in pounds and spend the pounds for goods in Great Britain or some other part of the sterling area." Because we have consistently sold more goods abroad than we have bought, and because of our national prejudice in favor of private trading, we should find it very hard to compete in a world where unilateral barter trading was commonly practiced.

With the current shortage of goods for domestic consumption, it is easy to underestimate the importance of foreign trade for our economy. But you at least are fully aware that in the long run we are much more likely to be plagued with overproduction than underproduction. In a few years we are likely to have an urgent need for foreign markets if we are to maintain domestic employment, particularly in our feast-and-famine heavy industries. As responsible men you cannot let the tears of rage that Mr. Bevin inspires blind you to the vital connection between the loan and America's own economic interests.

Beyond that you are compelled to consider this question in its relation to world peace. Many of the international tensions which we now find so alarming would be immensely reduced, if they did not vanish altogether, were hunger banished from the world and the nations given a better opportunity to concentrate on improving living standards. That objective cannot be achieved while the exchange of necessary goods is impeded at every turn; it will become an even more visionary ideal if we encourage a new era of economic warfare. So again we urge you: weigh this issue carefully, examine it with minds and consciences. It is not only to your present constituents that you must answer for your vote but to future generations.

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITORS OF THE NATION

Goodbye, Ilya Gregorevich

ILYA EHRENBURG has left our country for his own. His somewhat rhetorical and disingenuous letter of farewell, though it represents fairly enough the "realism" we have learned to accept as the official attitude of the U. S. S. R., hardly does justice to Ehrenburg himself —a more engaging and impressive figure than one would guess from the mixture of specific objections and general affection that constitutes his message to us.

His itinerary—suggested, no doubt, by Senator Bilbo, and lovingly itemized by Samuel Grafton, whose communiqués of Ehrenburg's Raid must have reminded readers of a little boy tagging breathlessly along behind his big brother—specialized in places like Dogpatch, Skunk Hollow, and Van Buren, Arkansas. There the surprised Ehrenburg saw bad things and, by questioning the older inhabitants, heard of worse—the Scopes trial, for instance; and he returned to New York able to refute any objection to an unfortunate feature of the Soviet Union by a quick counter-objection to some analogous evil in the United States. But though he finds the United States an adolescent country full of contradictions, he recognizes that we and the Russians are "two great and noble peoples," who are kept apart only by the "curtain of fog" which has been drawn by slanderers, rabble-rousers, fascists, and correspondents who have come to Moscow, Russia, without the clean hands and pure heart which Ehrenburg brought to his trip to Moscow, Alabama.

How pleasant it would be if one could leave one's head at the nearest checkroom, and accept the views of this talented but transparent propagandist! It is not editorials about Russia in the Chicago *Tribune* or New York *Daily News* which disquiet Americans, but the actions of the Soviet Union itself; and it will take deeds from Stalin, not words from Ehrenburg, to change their feelings. In the last year few foreign correspondents except those of the *Daily Worker* have been able to say anything about Russian policy that could please Russians or reassure Americans; if Horace Greeley were alive still, and could summon from the grave his regular European correspondent, Karl Marx, to write a series of articles on Russia, it is a safe bet that within a few months there would be one more slanderer and rabble-rouser whose articles Ilya Gregorevich Ehrenburg would be deploring.

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Showdown on Inflation

BY TRIS COFFIN
Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System

THE Midwestern voice of President Truman has just finished. The furious rain storm that broke over Washington this afternoon has left the night air fresh and cool. The halls of the Capitol are silent and still until Monday. The hands of the clock are moving closer to the end of price control.

The words spoken in the halting twang of Harry Truman have a bold, familiar ring. They sound like the fighting talks of Franklin Roosevelt, throwing the responsibility for inflation back to Congress— "Now every member has a clear-cut opportunity to show whether he wants price control or not." The battle had been taken to the people . . . "Your determination must be made known."

It was a bold stroke, planned, written and executed by the President, Chester Bowles and Paul Porter. Bowles and Porter mapped this strategy two weeks ago— whether it wins the battle for price control rests now with the people. Congress will have at least two days, probably longer, to hear from the country and decide.

This final, uproarious chapter on price control began last Wednesday. Alben Barkley, the majority leader, rose in the Senate to make a discouraging report. "We present to the Senate," he said, "a bill which does not altogether satisfy anyone, but which, in the democratic processes of give and take, is the result of considering every viewpoint expressed to Congress. I say earnestly that notwithstanding its imperfections, notwithstanding that no one would have written the bill just as it is, we have produced the best possible bill under the circumstances."

Senator Downey, one of the few champions of strong price controls, said gloomily, "I personally shall cast my vote for the conference report, although I do so most unhappily and with a deep sense of reluctance. I feel that it may result in a rapid and marked inflation and establish an entirely unworkable system."

Of the Taft amendment, the clever now-you-see-it, now-you-don't device for raising profits, Downey commented, "We will establish a base period of from October 1 to October 14, 1941, to measure the right of business to prices and profits. We will give them the same profits and costs which they had then and add to this all the accumulating costs. I ask, why do we take this particular base period? Is it because at that time corporate profits were the greatest they have been in history?"

The Senator cried out a dark prophecy to indifferent ears. "This amendment, by subjecting industry to a continuing series of price increases, will result in withholding goods from the market. This amendment is a monstrosity. It will be explosive in its effect on our economic stability. The value of the dollar will steadily decline; disabled veterans, dependents of men in the services, pensioners and all other persons on fixed incomes will be put in a terrific squeeze." But Senator Wherry, the small-town undertaker who entered the Senate by defeating George Norris, shouted scornfully, "Production is the only answer to inflation. We have been under the Bowles plan now for four years."

Toward the end of the troubled session young Senator Fulbright of Arkansas made one of his rare and statesmanlike speeches. He reminded his colleagues that economic stability had been wrecked last fall when Congress so blithely tore up the excess profits tax, and wage controls under the War Labor Board were dropped. Fulbright said, "Only three or four Senators opposed repeal of the excess profits tax. [*Editor's note*—He was one of them.] Many of those who now complain of the ineffectiveness of the OPA supported the repeal of the tax." He added that he would vote for the conference report "simply as a symbol." The young Senator said earnestly, "The greatest danger is that in adopting the conference report we shall lead the people to believe that we have done something effective."

A Senate tired of wrangling, tired of the sticky Washington heat, passed the conference committee report without enthusiasm Friday afternoon. Senator Barkley and Representative Spence, chairman of the House Banking Committee, plodded to the White House and pleaded with Mr. Truman to sign the bill. The atmosphere was clouded with storms of pressure. Western cattlemen and packing plants went on a sit-down strike and bombarded Congress with demands to end OPA. They put it bluntly—no price increase, no meat. Millers and grain elevator operators sent furious telegrams to Capitol Hill. Real estate operators were licking their chops and writing new rent increases into contracts.

But behind the scenes, one of the smartest organizers and strategists since Franklin Roosevelt was working fast. Chester Bowles was rounding up all the liberal support in the Administration to influence President Truman and his two advisers, John Snyder and John Steelman, to veto the bil, and thus force Congress into saying, "yes" or "no" to economic stability. Bowles' letter of resignation and his final press conferences were an appeal to the nation and to the President not to give up the fight.

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Saturday morning was hot and humid in Washington. Shortly after 10 o'clock, President Truman's message on price controls reached Congress.

The bold words of the veto message echoed over the crowded House. . . . "The Taft amendment promises peak profits. . . . It is a sorry jest which would wholly destroy wage stabilization. . . . This is a choice between inflation with a statute and inflation without. . . . The bill legalizes inflation. . . . Bonanza formula. . . . Enrich industry at the cost of the public."

Spence rose and in a low, almost inaudible voice said, "A great danger confronts the people of the United States. The conferees brought forth a bill. We did the best we could. I urged the President to sign the bill because I hoped it might work. But he has the responsibility for enforcing it. I will vote to sustain the veto." There was a burst of applause from half of the Democrats. The Republican side was silent. Spence went on. He would introduce a joint resolution to extend price controls until July 20. That would give Congress another chance.

The halls and cloakrooms of the Capitol were filled with confused, angry, and despairing talk. A young House secretary wailed, "I guess I'll have to write home for money if prices go up." A reporter told her grimly, "You sure will, honey. They'll be charging us for a glass of water." A sweating Capitol policeman told my five-year-old boy: "Sonny, I bet you could do a better job than Congress." He mopped his forehead and added, "It looks like a bad summer.'

The Congressmen were faced with a painful dilemma which they had hoped the conference report would avert. They could let OPA die and try to explain to the voters this fall, or pass a strong bill and face the wrath of the special groups—the N. A. M., the Farm Bureau, the retailers, the real estate boards. The conference committee report had been a skillful evasion. The voters could be told: Sure, we voted for price control. And the lobbyists could be told: But look at the openings we gave you.

The vote sustaining the veto brought together strange bedfellows. Both the diehard enemies and the best friends of OPA voted to uphold the President and kill the conference bill, though they had different motives. But that was just the beginning. Using a parliamentary maneuver the diehards blocked immediate action on a joint resolution extending OPA three weeks. Wolcott in the House and Pappy O'Daniel in the Senate blocked the unanimous consent necessary for consideration of the resolution. Then Congressmen and Senators walked out until Monday morning, face to face with a real issue —inflation or a stable economy.

The nation will know the answer in a few days.

A Vichy Regime for Spain?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 28

AN INTRIGUE with many ramifications to sell out the cause of the Spanish Republic may come to a head before the end of July. In origin it is a British-American intrigue, and it goes far to explain the stubborn refusal of both nations to accept any decent proposal in the Security Council. Whether the plan is identical with the Vatican-inspired scheme revealed at the start of the Council session is not known. What is certain is that the British representative in the Council was under instructions to oppose any move which might prove an obstacle to the intrigue now in the making. It may also explain Gromyko's veto of the compromise proposal finally put to a vote.

The existence of this plan does not contradict in the least what I reported from London in my article, Why Britain Supports Franco, on June 1. The British government will continue to support Franco as long as possible, but it knows that this policy has a deadline. The Spanish issue may have been respectfully interred by the Security Council, but at the same time the World Federation of Trade Unions ended its meeting in Moscow with a resolution calling for a worldwide boycott of Franco. The Spanish issue will not be liquidated until fascism is liquidated in Spain.

It is in the tradition of British foreign policy to have an alternative ready in case of failure. The alternative to Franco is the plan I shall now describe. It has two parts: first, the replacement of Franco by a military directorate which will assume power for a brief period, and then the transfer of power to a provisional government made up of both military and civilian elements. The names of two of the most probable members of the directorate are already circulating in official quarters in Madrid, where the "coup of July" is being discussed as a settled affair. They are General Aranda, whose name has often been connected with rumors of a monarchist restoration, and Colonel Ungria, who during the Spanish war was chief of Franco's intelligence service. I see no objection to publishing these names because I have the feeling that Franco is fully informed of the work in which they are engaged. For the plan, although instigated by the British, was discussed last month in the Casino Militar of Madrid, the famous officers' club where

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so many plots have been hatched during the last twenty-five years. There was not even any particular effort at secrecy. In contrast with Republican rebels who still end their lives before a firing squad, these amiable plotters could sit around a dinner table and openly drink to the success of their plans. All this would suggest that Franco is not blind to the operation and that he may even be hoping to remain the power behind the new regime if it is actually formed.

At that meeting in the Casino Militar agreement was reached on three points. The first was the constitution of a mixed government whose main task would be the maintenance of public order during the period of transition. The second was limited amnesty for political offenders. The Republicans in exile would be invited to come back to Spain, but a severe control at frontier and ports would prevent the return of those whose presence might be a menace to public order—a restriction which would exclude every militant Republican. The third was a plebiscite on the single question, "Do you want the monarchy?" Voters must say yes or no; not even the alternative "monarchy or republic?" would be offered. The plebiscite, it was agreed, should take place as quickly as possible; in other words, before the Republican forces could regroup themselves after seven years of persecution and exile.

The plan, as anyone can see, is simply a betrayal of the republic. While it originated among dissident Franco elements with British and American encouragement, it could never have been set in motion without the complicity of certain Republican leaders. The most active group on the Republican side in facilitating this maneuver is the Socialist faction of Indalecio Prieto, represented in the Giral Cabinet by two ministers, Trifon Gómez and De Francisco. Trifon Gómez is a member of the executive of the Transport Workers' International Organization and thus an old friend of the former head of Transport House, Britain's Foreign Minister. Having established contact with Mr. Bevin in Paris, Trifon Gómez arranged a private meeting between him and a very important Republican official. At that meeting, held last Sunday in Orléans, the Republican official was able to convince himself of the existence of a carefully articulated plan which completely ignores the republic as a possible alternative to Franco.

Señor Giral must also be well informed about the plan. Addressing the Permanent Committee of the Cortes in Mexico a fortnight ago, he said that during the summer a new—not his own—government would be set up inside Spain and that it would be recognized by Britain and the United States. But he mentioned this in such an offhand, gentle manner that the other members may have failed to realize the gravity of the announcement. I do not believe Señor Giral is implicated in the plot, but he is none the less compromised by the incredible fact that, knowing what is going on, he retains in his Cabinet men who openly favor sacrificing the republic. Perhaps in view of this development those people who urged Negrín and me to join the Giral government will now understand why we refused. The present plot had not yet been launched, but men capable of countenancing such a maneuver, men who during the Spanish war were always in favor of capitulation, have had a hand in the government from its inception. Even in November, 1945, when Giral's newly formed Cabinet presented itself to the Cortes in Mexico, Indalecio Prieto clearly announced that he would support the Republican government only so long as it presented no obstacle to some other solution of the Spanish problem. Immediately after this statement Negrín, myself, Gonzales Pena, chairman of the Socialist Party, and other Socialist members of the Cortes wrote to President Martínez Barrio calling his attention to the danger and impropriety of permitting a member representing the Prieto position to continue in the government.

Franco

This policy of capitulation is not new. It went on during the entire Spanish war and found its most terrible and shameful expression in the Casado coup of March, 1939, which delivered Madrid and the rest of the Republican territory to Franco and which was, by the way, also the result of British pressure. We are facing now a probable repetition of the Casado coup engineered by the same people—among them Socialists of the Paul Faure type, ready to sell out the republic just as Faure and his friends sold out France in 1940. The recent congress in Toulouse of the Prieto Socialists reaffirmed this dangerous tendency.

I know that many good friends of the Spanish Republic in the United States and elsewhere will say that, after all, the main thing is to get rid of Franco; that once Franco is out, the door will be open for a new drive to restore the republic. This is the most unrealistic kind of thinking. In the end the republic will be restored whatever happens, but the establishment of an interim regime of "order" insures a long process of violence in which thousands of Spaniards will be slaughtered and which might easily develop into a new civil war. Let no one be taken in by the proposal of a plebiscite. During

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three years the Spanish people registered their faith in the republic with blood. But even if the idea of a plebiscite were today tolerable, no vote taken under the plan invented in the Casino Militar could be anything but a farce. To begin with, every exile who really wants to fight for the republic will be refused admission to Spain, and those who go back in defiance of the restrictions will be suppressed. But supposing the provisional government of officers and civilians which is to replace Franco should be the most honest, liberal government in the world, the plebiscite would still be a fake because throughout Spain the Falange and the clergy hold the real power in every village and every town. A simple decree on paper will not abolish years of fascist control. That is why when Prieto launched in Mexico his campaign in favor of the plebiscite, Negrín, who does not like to use strong words in criticizing the acts of other Republicans, pronounced the name of Laval. That is why it is necessary to oppose with uncompromising vigor the proposal of a plebiscite, together with the entire plan to replace Franco, when his hour strikes, by a Vichy regime of capitulators and reactionaries.

The Future of the Ruhr and Rhineland

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

German economist now living in this country; author of "The Coming Crisis," to be published in November

THE future status of the Ruhr and the Rhineland will indubitably have a decisive influence on the future of all Europe; but it is a very complicated problem, with economic and political aspects inseparably interwoven. One of the first questions requiring settlement is an economic one—how much production shall be permitted in the two provinces, especially in the Ruhr. A second is political—whether or not the Ruhr and Rhineland shall remain a part of Germany. A third, which seems to me the most important, is whether the key industries, notably coal and steel, shall be socialized and the basis thus laid for a change in the structure of German society in the western zones.

Before the Second World War the Ruhr was the greatest coal- and steel-producing area of continental Europe. For a long time it was one of the greatest coal-exporting areas. Today it is nowhere denied that the speed of European reconstruction depends on the speed with which the Ruhr can resume its peace-time production of coal for the supplying of Europe's industries. For a long time this was not recognized in the United States. Strangely enough, it was not recognized by the men who to a large extent were responsible for the Potsdam agreement. They were still too much under the influence of Morgenthau's ideas.

The memorandum summarizing the Morgenthau plan which President Roosevelt took with him to the historic conference at Quebec read in part as follows (see "Germany Is Our Problem," by Henry Morgenthau, Jr.):

> *The Ruhr Area:* Here in the Ruhr area lies the heart of German industrial power. This area should not only be stripped of all presently existing industries but so weakened and controlled that it cannot in the foreseeable future become an industrial area. The following steps will accomplish this. Within a short period, if possible no longer than six months after the cessation of hostilities, all industrial plants and equipment not destroyed by military action shall be completely dismantled and transported to Allied nations as restitution. *All equipment shall be removed from the mines and the mines closed* (italics mine).

More than a year has passed since the cessation of hostilities, but no one now considers closing down the Ruhr mines. On the contrary, the present problem is how coal production in the Ruhr can be raised. The world is crying for coal today almost as loudly as it is crying for food. The international coal conference in Paris reported that Europe faced a coal deficit of 46,000,000 tons in the coming year.

After the end of the war, coal production in the Ruhr under British administration slowly revived; in February it became about 1,100,000 tons a week, that is, 55,000,000 to 60,000,000 tons a year—barely half of the peace-time output. At the beginning of this year the British still hoped that by the end of 1946 the peace-time figure would be achieved, and that the Ruhr would be able to meet the needs of France and Western Europe and also of German industry. But, instead, production has decreased in recent months by more than 20 per cent.

The principal reason for this is hunger. It is true that the miners receive preferential treatment in the matter of food, but they are none the less undernourished, partly because they give some of their special rations to their hungry children. Hunger, however, is not the only cause of the Ruhr's diminished production. If output is to be raised above a certain level, the many totally destroyed pits and the even larger number which suffered heavy damage in the war must be rebuilt and reequipped. For that purpose the Ruhr requires great

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quantities of steel. But the amount of steel manufactured in the Ruhr today is far smaller in comparison with peace-time output than the coal production. Not even 10 per cent of the peace-time amount is being produced. Under the Potsdam agreement Germany was permitted to manufacture 5,800,000 tons of steel a year—4,000,000 tons in the Ruhr—but only half of this quota is actually being produced.

One reason, of course, is the lack of coal. The German steel industry receives so little coal that it cannot manufacture the machinery necessary to raise the coal production—a vicious circle. That is why the British announced recently that they must reduce the export of Ruhr coal to France. The London *Tribune* commented correctly:

> Ruhr coal is needed not only today and tomorrow; it is a permanently essential factor in the economic recovery of Europe. In spite of the tremendous coal shortage, therefore, nothing would be more shortsighted and would more surely lead to a self-perpetuating catastrophe than to give in to the clamor for larger coal exports from the Ruhr *now*. Even the humblest peasant knows that if he is left with no alternative he must go hungry for a time rather than consume the seed from which alone future harvests can grow. This is the hard logic of the situation.

To increase coal production in the Ruhr two measures are necessary. First the miners must be given sufficient food. In this respect the situation may improve somewhat in the coming months; after the harvest all food rations will be increased slightly, and with recognition of the crucial significance of coal in the reconstruction of Europe the miners may receive still more favored treatment. Secondly, German steel production must be brought at least to the level decided upon in the Potsdam agreement, which means doubling production in the Ruhr.

At this point we see how inseparable are the political and economic aspects of the problem. The exceedingly low steel production of the Ruhr today is the result not only of insufficient coal supplies but of uncertainty about the future of the entire German steel industry, which will remain unclear until we know how the question of ownership is to be settled. The ownership of the coal mines is already settled. The decision of the British Labor government to dispossess the German owners without compensation, and to put their mining properties under public ownership with Britain as custodian, attracted little notice in this country although it may be of decisive importance for Europe. Since nobody knows whether or not the great steel works will remain in private hands, the present owners and managers are not interested in increasing production. More than that: in this transition period no plan for the development of the steel works without consideration of private interests is really possible. Clearly, the British Labor government should step in and socialize the steel industry in the British zone.

Socialization of all German heavy industry in the Ruhr should facilitate a sensible solution for the problem of the political status of the region. On this point agreement has hitherto not been possible between England and America on the one hand and the French government on the other. The French government demands not only that a part of the Ruhr production be made available for the reconstruction of Western Europe and France, but that the Ruhr and the Rhineland be separated politically from Germany. The chief argument in favor of the French proposal is that Germany, if left in possession of this great industrial area, may become strong enough to start another war of aggression. This argument is advanced by certain elements in America as well as in France and has a superficial cogency, but it is essentially fallacious. The danger of a third world war does not lie in any future aggressiveness on Germany's part but in a sharpening of the enmity between the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. Moreover, in this age of the atomic bomb new aggressive activities in Germany will not depend on the capacity of its industries but on *who owns them*—in other words, on what class holds the reins of power.

The French Socialists have clearly recognized this. Recently Léon Blum declared explicitly:

> We Socialists demand the appropriation and international direction of the mines and factories of the Ruhr. We demand the prolonged occupation of the left bank of the Rhine. But on the other hand *we are hostile to the political dismemberment of Germany*. This distinction is capital. The amputation proposed by De Gaulle and maintained against us by the Popular Republicans and the Communists is illusory and even fallacious, because it is of a nature to revive all the old imperialist instincts.

If in accordance with the wishes of the French Socialists and the policy of the British Labor government the Allies decide not to cut off the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany, that need not mean that the entire output of the region will be at Germany's disposal. A considerable part of it should be applied to the reconstruction of the devastated areas of Europe. For a long time the *production* of this great industrial center should be internationalized: that is, for a long time the Western powers should say how it is to be divided among Germany and other countries. During this transition period it can be determined to what extent the socialization of heavy industry, added to the destruction of the German middle classes consequent to the loss of the war, is altering the structure of German society; and whether the expropriation of the properties of the industrialists, the core of

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German reaction, will so strengthen the democratic and socialist forces that they will be able to thwart all aggressive tendencies.

To sum up: for the whole of Europe an increase of production in the Ruhr, especially of coal production, is essential—reconstruction depends on it. An increase of coal production in the Ruhr will most easily be attained if the socialization of the coal industry is followed by the socialization of the steel industry and its systematic restoration. Measures in that direction taken by the Labor government in the British occupation zone can be expected to change the structure of German society and render tremendous service to the democratic elements there. They would parallel the policy begun by the Labor government in England with the nationalization of the English coal industry and continued with its nationalization bill for steel. And they would of course strengthen the trend toward the nationalization of heavy industry in France, where the coal industry has already been taken over by the state.

By such measures the economic, and therefore the political, strength of the monopolistic-reactionary forces throughout Europe would be decisively curtailed. Moreover the consequent increase of production would so improve the economic situation that the Germans would feel some hope for the future. France, however, need not fear such a development, for the democratic, socialistic forces in Germany would be encouraged at the same time.

This and *only* this is the answer to Russian expansionist efforts in all parts of Germany. It would demonstrate to the Germans—not with empty phrases but with deeds, that is, with production figures—that they will have an economic future by retaining a German state, political democracy, and personal freedoms.

Britain's Greatest Gamble

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan," Mr. Roth is now on his way to India and the Pacific for a first-hand view of developing events in the Far East. He will embody his observations in a series of articles for The Nation.

London, June 25

LONDON—still shabby, pockmarked, and underfed a year after the war's end—is awaiting the outcome of one of the greatest gambles in the history of imperial politics. The Labor government is gambling that by loosening the reigns of political domination and military occupation in seriously disaffected areas it will be able to keep these areas within the British economic and power bloc.

At the prospect of troop withdrawals from Egypt, independence for India, and dominion status for Burma the Tories have raised shrill screams of anguish. Retired colonial officials fume in their clubs and write indignant letters to the *Times* echoing Churchill's charge that an empire "built with great labor" is being "cast away with great shame and folly." They forget that 1946 is not 1896. The people of the dependent and colonial areas are today not only militant and well-organized but, in Palestine, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia, armed as well. And Britain is not the first world power it was fifty years ago. With its factories undermanned it cannot spare soldiers to suppress colonial uprisings, nor does its economic situation, which now dictates a life of shabby austerity for the mass of its people, permit the financing of such undertakings. These facts are recognized by enlightened Conservatives like the editors of the *Times*, who therefore support the government's attempts to reach a settlement with the nationalist leaders and hope that these leaders can control the more radical demands of their followers.

It is ridiculous to think of the Labor Cabinet as made up of men who would unnecessarily risk losing the Empire; by temperament and belief they are cautious, "sure-thing" players, and they are only taking the gamble in their Egyptian and Indian policies because otherwise they know they are in imminent danger of losing all.

Labor Party thought on colonial matters is predominantly "gradualist," stemming from the Fabian Society and more particularly from the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Until recently the chairman of the bureau was Arthur Creech-Jones, for years one of the few members of Parliament who took a serious interest in colonial matters. Today Creech-Jones, a sincere but timid man, is Parliamentary Under Secretary of the Colonial Office, and the activities of the bureau, increased by the demands of the Labor government, are being carried on by the vigorous, able, and earnest Rita Hinden.

Dr. Hinden gave me a very clear view of Labor's attitude toward the colonies. It calls for their gradual conversion into self-governing equals within the British Commonwealth but considers it "irresponsible" to fix dates for the completion of the process. She was enthusiastic about the measures now being applied. All the colonial constitutions are being revised and liberalized. In Malaya the Chinese and Indians will soon become citizens and participate in the Legislative Council; the

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Burmese electorate is being tripled; Ceylon will have virtual self-government in internal affairs; in East Africa Negro representation is being increased; and in the Gold Coast there will be a majority of natives in the legislature for the first time in Africa.

These constitutional advances are underpinned by economic reforms. Allocation of taxes is being altered so that more wealth stays in the colonies, where it is produced, and less goes to London. Orders have gone out to establish consumers', credit, and marketing cooperatives in order to protect colonial peoples from native usurers and foreign monopolists. Labor attachés have been sent to Malaya, Burma, and East Africa to help in the establishment of trade unions.

These measures are concrete indications of the undoubted good intentions of the Labor government, but unfortunately they will take a decade or two to bear fruit and when read in the context of the nationalists' demands seem grudging rather than generous. Colonial nationalists resent the fact that the government's attitude is largely paternalistic—"we know what's best for you"—rather than a recognition of equality. The Labor Party's prestige in the colonial world would have been tremendously enhanced if it had invited to the recent Bournemouth conference not only the French Socialist Léon Blum but the Indonesian Socialist Premier Sjahrir and Socialists from India, Africa, and the West Indies.

In reading the texts of the proposed reforms—with the possible exception of those for Ceylon—it is difficult to escape the impression that a great opportunity was lost by too much concentration on retaining as many guaranties as possible for British interests. In Malaya, for example, the unification of the country, the reduction in the powers of the feudal sultans, the extension of citizenship to Chinese and Indian residents, and the establishment of a Legislative Council are all excellent and progressive measures. But these are amply counterbalanced: about half the Legislative Council is to be appointed, and how the others—who will have to be "proficient in the English language"—are to be elected is not indicated. The Governor will have reserved powers enabling him to do without the Legislative Council's consent in matters affecting defense, foreign relations, and even taxation. And the Secretary of State for Colonies can disallow any law passed by the Legislative Council even if the Governor has given his assent. Surely this is no bold play to capture the loyalty of a rich colony.

Dr. Hinden and others in touch with colonial peoples have advocated a policy of greater boldness and generosity but have been rebuffed repeatedly on grounds of strategic necessity. Only on such grounds can one explain conditions in Cyprus, a main pivot of the British position in the Mediterranean. Cyprus has been a virtual police state since the riots in 1931, when Cypriots burned down Government House. Civil liberties are almost unknown, hundreds of leaders have been imprisoned or exiled, and the church has not been allowed to hold elections for its own bishops. The reason for British hesitancy in correcting these conditions is that most Cypriots want to be united with Greece, and although Greece is now safely in the British sphere, pro-Soviet forces are strong there and the British want to be doubly sure by holding on to Cyprus separately.

It should be noted that the Labor government's sensitivity about strategic positions is shared by the British people. In a poll held in June by the British Institute of Public Opinion the public was asked: "Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to remove British troops from Egypt?" Of those with an opinion in the general population three out of five disapproved; among Labor voters two out of five.

Among the most powerful factors tending to drag Labor's colonial policy to the right is its close association with such giant foreign-trade monopolies as Dutch Oil, Imperial Chemicals, and Unilever. It should be remembered that in Labor's program for gradual socialization only 20 per cent of the British economy is due to be nationalized by 1950, and industries engaged in foreign trade are way down at the end of the list. Furthermore, because of Britain's present desperate need for foreign exchange, the government encourages those firms which can improve the country's economic position. In Burma, for example, Steel Brothers, Ltd., which dominated Burma's cotton, rice, and teak industries before the war, has now reestablished itself there with government assistance and has been able to pay two years' arrears on its 6 per cent first-preference shares. A substantial portion of the £87,000,000 loan to Burma will go to Steel Brothers and other English concerns in payment for their losses and very little to impoverished Burmese cultivators.

The machinery for dealing with the colonies which Labor took over on assuming office was vast, complicated, and antiquated. Although it is planned to recruit many more members from colonial peoples and non-upper-crust Britons, the overwhelming majority now in the colonial services look backward toward the nineteenth century. Labor men have been appointed governors of Malta and Bengal, but the *New Statesman* tells of an able candidate for District Officer in Palestine, a man risen from the ranks to become a lieutenant colonel in the army, who was turned down by the chairman of a selection board because he had not attended a public school and was therefore not quite right socially.

Neither of the Cabinet ministers in charge has shown any inclination toward a rapid purge of diehard elements in his department. In Burma, at least, the influence of these diehards has created a wide gap between the government and the young nationalists at a time when they should be cooperating to restore the devas-

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tated country. The dominant notion among senior Burma colonial officers was revealed by Governor Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith in an unguarded moment: "You have to get tough with the nationalists or they don't respect you."

British army circles, still very influential in Southeast Asia, are similarly unsympathetic to the desires of colonial peoples, partly because a considerable number of the middle-rank officers are former colonial officials and business men. One of the things that most inflamed Britons against the Indonesians was the report, from army sources, that Brigadier Mallaby was killed by Indonesians while negotiating a truce. The actual fact is that he was killed after he had himself broken the truce by ordering Indians to fire on a turbulent mob near Union Square in Surabaya. Even now it is not known whether he was killed by Indonesians or by a grenade thrown by an Indian officer at some Indonesians who were approaching his car.

The real story of Mallaby's death was revealed in the House of Commons by Tom Driberg, one of the small group of Labor back-benchers who stand to the left of the government on colonial matters and have striven energetically to counter right-wing influences. These back-benchers want full and equal cooperation with the colonial peoples. Their thought derives from that of the English economist J. A. Hobson, whose searing analysis, "Imperialism: A Study" (1902), was later adopted in large part by Lenin. This group has been augmented by a number of young Laborites who have done military service in various parts of the Empire and returned determined to right the wrongs they observed. Their chief spokesmen in the Commons are Tom Driberg and Harold Davies.

Driberg, tall, brilliant, charming, and a skilled debater, was for many years the star columnist of the *Daily Express* and now writes for *Reynolds' News*. He won a by-election as an Independent in 1942 in Maldon, a conservative rural constituency, and was reelected in 1945 as a Labor candidate. Harold Davies, a pleasant, intelligent, and very earnest man, is serving his first term as a Labor M. P. from a South Wales mining district after seventeen years as an extension lecturer for Oxford University in workers' education. Both men traveled extensively in Southeast Asia last year, met most of the nationalist leaders, and have been kept up to the minute by correspondence and returning service men.

About the best attraction the House of Commons can offer these days is a debate on the Asiatic colonies between Captain Gammans, the blustering spokesman for the commercial interests, and Driberg and Davies. In the recent Burma debate Gammans favored arresting General Aung San as a murderer, while Driberg suggested that cooperation with Aung San would speed Burma's recovery. In the February debate on Indonesia, Davies, who had just returned from Asia, summed up the feelings of the back-benchers when he said: "Because a Labor government at this moment is in power, there is still faith in the Far East . . . Had a Labor government not been in power at the present moment, the Far East would have been on fire from one end to the other. They believe in us. Let us see that because they believe in us they will not be betrayed."

Georgia's Negro Vote

BY IRA DE A. REID

Professor of sociology at Atlanta University; to be visiting professor of education at New York University next year

Atlanta, Georgia, June 25

IN GEORGIA today a Caesarian operation is being performed on democracy in an effort to save its newest offspring, the primary. The mother has been so mauled about and bruised by her men folks in the state that she is having a difficult time. The delivery on July 17 is not going to be an easy one, what with none too skilful attendants and the incantations being cast upon the child by those who would like to have it still-born. The only hope is that the child comes of such good stock that it will survive all these adverse conditions. Supreme Court decisions have given Negroes the right to vote in the only elections that actually matter in Georgia—the primaries. Whether that right is going to become a living privilege will depend on the Department of Justice, the local registrars, the political machines, and the colored voters themselves.

In a state where the ratio between Negroes and whites in the population is one to three, it is one to seven in the registered voting population. The number of registered Negro voters has risen from 15,000 to approximately 116,000 in the past year, an increase of 673 per cent, but during the same period white registrants have increased by a number greater than the total number of persons who voted in the 1942 elections for governor. While outside the state this increase may be regarded as a victory for the democratic process, Georgians interpret it as meaning that the Democratic Party, and the elections, will remain in the hands of the white voters. In reporting the registration figures both the Atlanta *Journal*

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and the Atlanta *Constitution* featured the fact that the whites outnumbered the Negroes seven to one.

The only issue, if it can be called an issue, in the present campaign is what former Governor Eugene Talmadge, in his less impolite moments, calls "the race issue." The two other candidates, former Governor E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael, are trying to refute this by saying "It aint so!" in a variety of ways. No candidate has publicly uttered a good word for the Negro. In fact, no candidate has addressed a Negro group at any public meeting. Not even Governor Arnall, a staunch supporter of Carmichael, has ever spoken to a Negro group in Georgia. In the past it has not been politically necessary to do so; the present candidates, by refraining, protect themselves from the Talmadge scalpel and pertinent questioning. Therefore what makes up the Negro voter's mind in Georgia is what he hears whispered over the scraggly grape vine, what he thinks is the lesser of the many political and social evils that affect his citizenship status, and who is being backed by the people he respects.

The last Negro representative left the Georgia legislature in 1908. Not until February, 1945, did the votes of colored citizens again become a force in Georgia politics. In a Congressional by-election held in Atlanta at that time the votes from a Negro neighborhood shifted the victory from the machine candidate, Tom Camp, secretary to former Congressman Robert Ramspeck, to Mrs. Helen Mankin. The racial reaction to that blow was Georgia's heavy registration. Later, the Negro vote was shown to have played a minor part in the defeat of the Cracker Party in Augusta, and the "threat" of "Negro domination" seemed less formidable. But Eugene Talmadge's Georgia is taking no chances.

Approximately half of the 116,345 Negro votes in Georgia are concentrated in the five "big-city" counties containing the cities of Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, Savannah, and Columbus. Yet these counties contain less than 10 per cent of the state's Negro population. In these same counties Negro registered voters form approximately one-fourth of the voting list. In 16 of the state's 159 counties the Negro citizen has had little trouble in becoming a registered voter. Here are to be found two-thirds of the Negro votes. It is in the small rural counties that the free primary will meet its real test.

In 46 of Georgia's 159 counties—each of the 46 is a two-vote county under the unit-voting system—Negroes form more than 50 per cent of the population. In no one of these counties does the proportion of Negro voters at all approach the proportion of Negroes in the population. The number of Negroes registered was generally reported to be 10 per cent of the total. But in Webster County, where 612 of every 1,000 people are Negroes, there is not a single registered Negro voter; in Burke County, which has a Negro population of 19,000, there are only 160 Negro voters. And if the trend now being noted by the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, an organization of colored Democrats, continues, it is certain that there will be a very high rate of disqualification among Negro voters everywhere by election day.

Caricature by Seligson

Ellis Arnall

The Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs is trying to expose these conditions throughout the state, but the restrictive devices in each county are limited only by the ingenuity of the registrars and their advisers. In one county "the colored books aren't ready." In another the registrar is never in when a colored voter comes around. More than 400 Negroes stood in line an entire day in one community without getting a chance to register. Sometimes the printed qualifications for voters are interpreted as meaning that they must pass both property and literacy qualifications: the "and/or" is treated as "and" only. One Negro was disqualified because he did not know the name of the sixteenth President of the United States. Another was asked: "Who elects the judges?" Another: "What is a document?" At a recent meeting of the association, investigators reported that Negroes were being asked either to recite the Preamble to the Constitution or to listen to the registrar read it and then write out verbatim the part read. A young college graduate, now a second-year theological student in a Northern seminary, has just come to Atlanta from his home in Fayette County to protest against the way the Negroes there were not permitted to register. He came at the behest of one of the county's Negro ministers, who has tried again and again to get the registrar's books opened to his flock. When I mentioned these abuses to one of Georgia's most widely known public men he admitted that in the "Talmadge campaign" registrars were being instructed in ways to handle the "nigger voters."

No other Southern campaign in recent years has so blatantly exploited the race issue. Talmadge announced at the outset that he would take his stand with "white folks." He has told all the usual race-baiting stories, including highly imaginary ones about Negro Congressmen, mixed schools, and the like. His radio speeches have been so inflammatory that some Negroes have considered asking the FCC to curb him. Yet Talmadge has

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his Negro supporters. A former president of a state college returned to the state to aid his campaign. When this man went to a meeting of the colored Democrats in Albany, the Atlanta *Daily World*, the nation's only Negro daily, reported that he apparently sensed "the extreme displeasure of the delegates over his presence, together with his purported espousal of the Talmadge cause, [and] was persuaded to leave without incident."

The Supreme Court's decision on racial separation in interstate bus travel furnished Talmadge with new talking points. He promised listeners in southern Georgia that if he were elected he would have a law passed requiring all Negroes to buy new tickets at the state line in order to ride through the state. To Candidate Talmadge the Negroes want "social equality," and their aspirations are favored by the Supreme Court, Northerners, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Governor Arnall, and, in particular, his opponents Messrs. Rivers and Carmichael. Talmadge, says Talmadge, is the one candidate who would dare to speak out against "social equality" and to do something about it.

Caricature by Seligson

Eugene Talmadge

There is no doubt that his emphasis on the race issue has caused his opponents great concern. That is about all they too have talked about. Mr. Carmichael has said, and with a straight face, "The race issue is nothing more than a smoke screen to elect Gene." Carmichael isn't for "social equality." He has said so. Rivers says he isn't for "social equality" either. But Talmadge has put both men so on the defensive that neither has been able to make any public statement at all favorable to the hundred thousand new Negro voters.

Behind the scenes, however, interesting machinations are going on. The Rivers forces are definitely working to get the Negro vote. Carmichael's headquarters have been less overt in their solicitations, but the "smart operators" in that camp have "talked it over" with Negro leaders. This Negro vote, it must be remembered, is different from any other known in fifty years of Georgia politics. It is interested in issues and welfare; its leaders are not to be tempted by the promise of spoils. Georgia's politicians are novices in this kind of campaigning. Only once in forty years has a candidate for a state or national office come to a Negro group in Georgia and talked over the political issues of the moment. That candidate was elected.

As a result of Mrs. Mankin's victory the Democratic committees of Fulton, DeKalb, and Rockdale counties decided to employ the county unit-voting system in the coming Congressional primary election. This means that the heavy popular vote which Mrs. Mankin received in Atlanta (Fulton County) will be offset by her weakness in the two other counties, where Judge James Davis is a leading contender for the Congressional designation. Thus Mrs. Mankin could carry Fulton County, with its 112,000 voters and six unit votes, and lose to a candidate who carried DeKalb and Rockdale counties, which have a combined registration of fewer than 50,000 voters but six and two unit votes respectively. Negroes in the three counties, especially in Atlanta, have been working for a heavy registration in the outlying districts in the hope of preventing the nomination of Judge Davis, who is regarded as a Negro-hater. But their efforts may be ineffective since the Judge's enemies are said to be willing to kick him upstairs in order to get him off the bench. All this makes Representative Mankin's victory problematical.

Only three things are certain about the Negro vote, whatever its size, in the July election. First, it will not be a bloc vote; the candidates and the leaders have seen to that. Second, every previously elected official in Georgia has a black mark against him so far as the Negro voter is concerned. Former Governor Rivers, for example, will have to explain his alleged past affiliation with the Klan as a lecturer. Third, it will not vote for Eugene Talmadge of its own free will, a qualification understood only by those who know rural Georgia.

A not too quiet political revolution is taking place in Georgia. Involved in it are home rule for the big cities, labor's coming of age, and the differentials of religion, sex, education, and race. The situation can perhaps be explained by citing Mrs. X, the wife of a minor public official, and a churchwoman and leader of some importance in her community. Mrs. X was quite concerned over the social-action program of the denomination to which she belongs. She protested against the group's being addressed by Mrs. Roosevelt, its stand on labor, its attitude toward minorities (they ought to remain where God placed them), its general position on public issues. If only the women of her denominational connection in Georgia would go back to the teachings of the Old Testament and serve God in that manner, she and the women of her local church would see to it that the Honorable Eugene E. Cox, representative from Georgia's Second Congressional District, would introduce in Congress all the social legislation this country needs.

That being too far-fetched a solution, democracy will struggle on in Georgia—until July 17, at least.

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The Jews That Remain

BY JOSEPH DUNNER

During the war Mr. Dunner was chief of the Intelligence Department of the London Office of War Information; after V-E Day he was in charge of the Munich Press Control Detachment of the Information Control Division, United States Army

CONSIDERING the intensity of anti-Semitic propaganda in Germany during the past twelve years, the German people are showing surprisingly little rancor, at least on the surface, toward the few returning Jews. Indeed, in many cases Jews enjoy a singular popularity, for some claim to pro-Semitism is considered one of the best safeguards against the impact of the denazification order. Every Military Government officer in Germany has known dozens of applicants for licenses or jobs who insisted that they were the illegitimate children of a Jew. For the last year two cartons of cigarettes, valued at 3,000 marks, the equivalent of $300, would buy in Berlin a certificate proving that its owner had a Jewish grandmother. However, anti-Semitism in Germany is not dead. And it is likely to revive as soon as the socio-economic and psychological factors which were its major causes reappear in fuller measure.

Some Jews never left Germany but were hidden away by German anti-Nazis willing to risk their lives and the lives of their families by protecting them. A few German Jews have returned from the concentration camps, in particular from Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt. But of the 30,000 Jews who lived in Frankfurt-am-Main before 1933, only 300 are still there. An additional 300 in Frankfurt today came originally from other German communities. Of the 4,500 Jews of Stuttgart only 180 remain. Munich before 1933 had a Jewish population of 13,000; today there are but 450 German Jews in the city.

With the help of the new German administrations, which are staffed largely by anti-Nazis, a Jew returning to his home community or coming out of hiding is usually able to find adequate housing. If his old residence has been destroyed, the apartment of a former Nazi Party member is placed at his disposal. With respect to food and fuel German Jews are, officially, slightly better off than the majority of the people. For a few months after V-E Day many of them received double rations. This allowance was later reduced to that of "heavy workers," which was also given to Social Democrats, Communists, and clergymen who had been in concentration camps. Actually, however, since the returning Jews are utterly destitute and unable to supplement their allowance of rationed goods by barter, their per capita consumption is no greater than that of non-Jews, many of whom add to their official diet from the stocks of food they have laid up.

With rare exceptions, Jews are able to find some sort of remunerative work. The provincial governments in the American zone, following the lead of the Social Democratic Minister-President of Bavaria, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, have appointed state commissioners for Jewish affairs whose tasks include the placement of Jews in the German civil service and in the few private enterprises that are operating. Jewish physicians and lawyers are resuming the practice of their professions, from which they had been barred by the Nürnberg laws; they report a plethora of clients, the vast majority of whom are non-Jewish Germans.

Bright as this picture may seem, it is not without dark spots. One of the fundamental errors in our occupation policy is its failure to discriminate clearly enough between Nazis, non-Nazis, and anti-Nazis in the social and economic sphere. To the average American officer the German who served six or more years in Dachau because of his courageous resistance to Nazism is not much different from the German who prospered under the Hitler regime. To him both of them are "Krauts who have to be put in their place." So far there has been no restoration of property stolen from the Jews since 1933. Younger Jews, who were denied all educational opportunities under the Nazis, often lack the necessary training for a specialized position. All Jews are fearful of competing with the non-Jews for the bits of debris left by the storm lest anti-Semitic feeling break out again.

This fear is shared by the so-called part-Jews, products of intermarriage who adhere to the Protestant or Catholic faith. During the Nazi regime they were treated somewhat better than the full Jews. Some, especially if their name and appearance were not too obviously Jewish, escaped persecution altogether. Today they usually enjoy the same benefits as full Jews, but like most of the full Jews they find it impossible to think of Germany as their permanent home. They cannot free themselves of the Hitler nightmare. The full Jews look forward to migrating eventually to Palestine, but the part-Jews hope to find a haven in the United States or some other hospitable land.

Of the almost three and a half million Jews in pre-war Poland, fewer than 160,000 survived the gas and torture chambers of Lublin, Oswiescim, and the other death traps for Eastern European Jewry. Most of the survivors are today D. P.'s in Germany. Some were liberated by the Allied armies from concentration camps; many have filtered in since. Among the latter are Jewish guerrillas

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who fought with the Russian and Polish partisans during the war only to discover that all their sacrifices had not made them any more welcome in the land of their birth. A census taken on January 23, 1946, showed that there were 56,556 Jewish D. P.'s in the American zone—47,867 in Bavaria and 8,689 in Greater Hesse and Baden-Württemberg. There are approximately 35,000 Jews in the British zone, very few in the French and Russian zones.

Most of the D. P.'s are collected in camps, where they are housed in former barracks or stables of the German army. The rest live in private homes requisitioned for them by the Military Government or UNRRA. They enjoy the extra food ration and a few other privileges such as occasional free tickets for theaters and concerts. When one thinks of the price they have paid, the assistance given to them seems a mere pittance. I have talked with more than two hundred Jewish D. P.'s who saw their wives raped and tortured, their little children smashed against the walls until the blood flowed from their broken bodies. I could name Jewish boys of seventeen and eighteen who for months ate nothing but the flesh of their comrades executed or worked to death by their S. S. guards. Dr. Z. Grinberg, a Jewish physician from Poland, said at a conference of the Jewish D. P.'s in Munich on January 27: "With the money, the possessions stolen by the Nazis from us and from the millions of Jewish dead one could finance UNRRA and every other relief agency in the world. If only a small part of what was taken from us were now returned, all the Jewish D. P.'s could live in luxurious palaces instead of being forced to sleep on hard cots in unsanitary and overcrowded barracks and to eat from tin plates the meager soup given to them as an act of charity."

Now that they have been liberated, the Jewish D. P.'s want to be treated like allies and not like parasites or prisoners. The riots and other disturbances of which one hears these days should be blamed less on them than on the M. G. officials' callous indifference and complete lack of understanding of D. P. psychology. In May, 1945, the G-5 section of the Third Army, then under Patton, began to move the D. P.'s like cattle from one camp to another. Husbands and wives, fathers and sons, who after years of enforced separation had at last found each other were separated again and sent in different directions. On June 11, 1945, I submitted to the headquarters of the Psychological Warfare Division a detailed account of seventeen D. P. centers with an aggregate of 14,000 Jewish inmates. At Turkheim, I reported, they lived in a barbed-wire inclosure still equipped with the deadly electrical apparatus that was designed to keep the ambitious from escaping to life outside. In none of the camps did I find soap, toothbrushes, or laundry facilities. At Freimann, near Munich, I lived for two days with D. P.'s who had arrived at the camp after a march of 200 kilometers. They found the former S. S. barracks in which they were installed infested with vermin, and filthy beyond description. Weak as they were from their years in concentration camps, they managed to clean the place up in a few days and to make it a model camp. But they could not get the tools they needed to build bathrooms, a camp kitchen, and a laundry.

In spite of the official extra ration, the food in the camps is not sufficient for people who have been undernourished for years and are suffering from various diseases. Moreover, since the camps have no proper kitchen facilities, food has to be prepared in makeshift fireplaces in the doorways and rooms of the buildings. The D. P.'s who rioted at Mittenwald claimed that they had more and better food under Nazi rule.

Until recently G-5 refused to regard the Jews as Jews and classified them as Poles, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, and so on. When the national committees of these groups recalled their D. P.'s, G-5 thought that the Polish, Lithuanian, and Yugoslav Jews would naturally return with the non-Jews to their countries of origin. The refusal of the Jews to return to Eastern Europe made American officials less sympathetic to their cause than ever. When I told a high officer in the Third Army's G-5 section of the fist fights between Polish Jews and non-Jews in the camps, and that the Jews were afraid to return to Poland, his answer was, "I'll put them on trucks together and I'll teach them how to behave." He imagined that he could magically eradicate the age-old anti-Semitic tradition of Eastern Europe—by giving an order.

A number of American officers have German mistresses, mostly Nazi women conditioned by the Nazi regime to sexual libertinage. These Nazi women have a pernicious influence on our occupation policy, for they not only protect their Nazi kin whenever possible but foster in the men who should carry out the denazification order a resentment against people who, not having a guilty conscience, refuse to behave as subserviently as the Nazis do—German anti-Nazis and Jewish D. P.'s. Because the Jewish D. P.'s hate the Nazis fiercely and have different *mores* from the indigenous German population, the average American officer regards them as troublemakers. "Why don't these Jews go back to Poland if they don't like it here?" is a remark often heard in army circles and even among UNRRA workers.

Actually the Jewish D. P.'s do not want to stay in Germany. In answer to a questionnaire circulated in D. P. camps 95 per cent of the Jewish inmates said Palestine was the country in which they would like to live permanently. Europe, for them, is the continent of crematoriums and gas chambers where the lives of their loved ones were snuffed out mercilessly. Germany is only a waiting-room where they stand in line before a ticket office which they hope will open one day and issue passes to Palestine.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Saving and Spending

THERE has been a great deal of argumentative theorizing about the economic consequences of the huge total of liquid assets that individuals accumulated during the war. Some public officials have repeatedly called attention to its inflationary potential; other have hailed these savings as a sheet-anchor in some future deflationary storm. It is conceivable that both opinions are right or both wrong. In any case it was impossible to make a judgment as long as discussion was based on the simple fact that individual holdings of currency, bank deposits, and government securities had risen from $40,000,000,000 at the end of 1939 to $130,000,000,000 at the end of 1945.

Thanks to a survey made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the results of which are summarized in the June Federal Reserve Bulletin, it is now possible to discuss the problem of savings more realistically. By means of interviews the survey obtained information on the income, savings, and liquid-assets holdings of a representative sample of "spending units"—defined as "all persons living in the same dwelling and belonging to the same family who *pool their incomes* to meet their major expenses."

One major fact emerging from this investigation was that the war has done little to lessen the heavy concentration of incomes and wealth in the hands of a minority of the population. The top 10 per cent of "spending units," it appears, received 29 per cent of the money income in 1945, accounted for 53 per cent of gross savings, and held 60 per cent of total liquid assets, excluding currency. The bottom 50 per cent, by contrast, received 22 per cent of the income, made 3 per cent of the savings, and held 3 per cent of the liquid assets.

These figures should dispel a lot of ideas based on hunches rather than exact information. It is clear that the supposed leveling-up effect of the war economy is a myth and that the much-touted "swollen" earnings left a very minute margin for savings so far as the bulk of wage-earners are concerned. Thus the survey shows that while the average holding of liquid assets amounted to $1,750, the average amount per spending unit in each percentage class was as follows:

Top 10 per cent	$10,500
Next 20 per cent	2,350
Next 30 per cent	700
Bottom 40 per cent	40

On the basis of these results we must conclude that at least half the population, which means a much larger proportion of wage-earners, have no nest eggs of significant size. So far as they are concerned, we do not have to worry about the dissipation of their savings in an ill-considered rush to buy cars and refrigerators, for they have practically no savings to dissipate.

The question of how potent an inflationary effect the present record total of liquid assets may exercise turns therefore very largely on the spending intentions of the top 30 per cent who own 87 per cent of the whole. Information provided by the survey indicates that there is no general disposition among these top-bracket savers to go on a buying spree: 3,800,000, or 11 per cent of all spending units, are definitely intending to buy new cars in 1946 or will probably do so; 12,600,000, or 28 per cent, plan to purchase other consumers' durable goods; 3,100,000, or 7 per cent, hope to buy houses. If all plans, both definite and probable, for spending on these objectives are actually carried through, it will mean an outlay of some twenty to twenty-five billion dollars on the basis of planned average expenditure on each category. But by no means all this sum will come from savings. In the case of cars, for instance, the survey suggests that about two-fifths of the cost will be met from current income, one-quarter by drawing on liquid assets, and the rest borrowed. Actually, of course, many intended purchases are likely to be postponed owing to lack of production. Allowing for this factor, adding in estimated drafts on liquid assets for other purposes, and deducting current savings, the Federal Reserve Bulletin article suggests that the net reduction in liquid assets as a result of consumption expenditure might amount to from five to seven billion dollars in 1946.

It would appear that plans for spending accumulated savings are more modest than has been generally supposed. During the war people in the higher income brackets tended to put aside a larger proportion than usual of their current incomes but not with the idea of providing the wherewithal for a post-war splurge. Some saving, of course, is always inspired by the desire to obtain a specific object, but more often its aim is the achievement of a permanent fund which will be drawn upon with reluctance except in cases of emergency. With most people there is a strong psychological resistance to the use of savings for purposes of current consumption, which means that the so-called liquid assets of individuals are under normal circumstances distinguished by a considerable degree of illiquidity.

Can we assume, then, that the present record volume of savings has no serious inflationary potential? That does not follow. It all depends on the response of holders of liquid assets to a further rise in prices. If that occurs, and particularly if the rise is sudden and dramatic, it might well arouse the fear that money, and assets with a fixed money value, such as government bonds, were becoming increasingly unsafe as a store of purchasing power. There could be a panic rush to turn money into goods, which, in the absence of controls, might send prices into the stratosphere. In view of the fact, however, that a large proportion of all savings are held by the well-to-do, part of this inflationary pressure would spill over into the stock and real-estate markets as people sought to conserve their assets by investing them in equities. In either case the price of government bonds would tend to fall, unless supported by massive purchases by the Federal Reserve banks, which would mean an increase in the money supply and new fuel for the inflationary fires. Our conclusion must be, then, that the mass of liquid assets wil remain comparatively inert as long as prices are kept under control, but should prices be allowed to break loose, a chain reaction might be started which would convert this mass into an economic high explosive.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

To Juan at the Winter Solstice

There is one story and one story only
That will prove worth your telling,
Whether as learned bard or gifted child;
To it all lines or lesser gauds belong
That startle with their shining
Such common stories as they stray into.

Is it of trees you tell, their mouths and virtues,
Of strange beasts that beset you,
Of birds that croak at you the Triple will?
Or of the Zodiac and how slow it turns
Below the Boreal Crown,
Prison of all true kings that ever reigned?

Water to water, ark again to ark,
From woman back to woman:
So each new victim treads unfalteringly
The never altered circuit of his fate,
Bringing twelve peers as witness
Both to his starry rise and starry fall.

Or is it of the Virgin's silver beauty,
All fish below the thighs?
She in her left hand bears a leafy quince;
When with her right she crooks a finger, smiling,
How may the King hold back?
Royally then he barters life for love.

Or of the undying snake from chaos hatched,
Whose coils contain the ocean,
Into whose chops with naked sword he springs,
Then in black water, tangled by the reeds,
Battles three days and nights,
To be spewed up beside her scalloped shore?

Much snow is falling, winds roar hollowly,
The owl hoots from the elder,
Fear in your heart cries to the loving-cup:
Sorrow to sorrow as the sparks fly upward.
The log groans and confesses
There is one story and one story only.

Dwell on her graciousness, dwell on her smiling,
Do not forget what flowers
The great boar trampled down in ivy time.
Her brow was creamy as the long ninth wave,
Her sea-blue eyes were wild
But nothing promised that is not performed.

ROBERT GRAVES

Murder, Inc.

BLOOD IN THE STREETS: THE LIFE AND RULE OF TRUJILLO. By Albert C. Hicks. Creative Age Press. $2.75.

TRUTH, indeed, has a hard time of it. Never has this statement had more force or meaning than in the effort of writers to tell the world the truth of what goes on inside the Dominican Republic. Now the story is told. In this excellently documented account of the life and rule of Raphael Trujillo, the dictatorial ruler of that once respected Latin American country, Albert C. Hicks has done a job for which, I dare say, hundreds of thousands of terrorized Dominicans at home and in exile will be everlastingly grateful.

This is no ordinary biography. This is not simply a collection of stories about the wild and reckless life of an irresponsible criminal, suddenly risen to power in some distant land which we neither care about nor can be affected by. This is a stirring account, authenticated by names, dates, and places, of the rise of a man who in early life was a cattle thief and gangster—a man who rose through successive stages of criminal conspiracy in both civilian and army life, wholesale murder of friend and foe alike, until in 1930 he became President of the Republic of San Domingo. From this high office he has controlled commercialized prostitution and gambling, from which his take is estimated to be one million dollars a year; the sale of vital food stuffs, such as milk, salt, rice, and meat, from which four articles alone it is reported that he receives more than five and a half million dollars a year in graft; a 10 per cent levy on all government employees, most of which goes to his personal treasury; all imports and shipping facilities. From all these sources of graft it is estimated that he nets *fifty thousand dollars a day*, most of which he deposits in the National City Bank in New York. (It is reported that his account is the second largest of the foreign clients of that great banking institution.) Albert Hicks says that more than 3,000 Dominicans have been murdered by Trujillo; he says further that 15,000 Haitians were killed in one of the world's most deliberate slaughters of human beings—the so-called Haitian-Dominican border massacre. Both of these estimates, says Hicks, are very conservative. (I was in Haiti at the time. If anything I believe his estimate an understatement.) In his last chapter he names the most prominent of these victims of Trujillo. The standing of these victims in San Domingo is the most amazing thing about the list. In our own country a similar group would include the highest generals of our army, several Presidential candidates in the past two or three elections, many United States Senators and Representatives, and numerous writers, authors, students, and newspaper correspondents.

All through this book the reader is at a loss to understand why, with most of this information available and familiar to

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our State Department and its representatives in the Dominican Republic, we have not at least withdrawn our ambassador, thus giving notice to the world that we refuse to recognize such a tyrant as Trujillo. This is the one thing that he fears more than anything else in the world. But with full knowledge of his crimes, of the oppression of two million of his subjects, of this constant threat to security in the American hemisphere, our State Department condones his every action, receives him and lavishly entertains him both in San Domingo and in this country. All this honor goes to a man who has openly stated that he intends to annex the Republic of Haiti and, as soon as it obtains its independence, Puerto Rico as well.

"Blood in the Streets" is an amazing document. It is more than interesting reading; it is as valuable a contribution to the cause of peace and democracy in Latin America as any of the conferences held during the last decade. In my opinion it is more valuable, because Hicks has exposed the worst dictator existing in the world today—a man who lives right here at our very doorstep, one whose criminal example and success others in the Americas may well attempt to emulate. With the exposure of this tyrant dictator widely publicized throughout the world, and particularly in Latin America, we may hope to live in a day when such names as Vargas of Brazil, Machado of Cuba, Lescot of Haiti, Perón of Argentina, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic will be but a hazy memory.

The United States can neither keep the respect of the rest of the Americas nor hope for a real and lasting peace there as long as it continues to recognize the world's most criminal dictator. No country, whatever its size, is too small to be important in tomorrow's peace.

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

A Classic of Popular Science

THE COMMON SENSE OF THE EXACT SCIENCES. By William Kingdon Clifford. Newly Edited and with an Introduction by James R. Newman. Preface by Bertrand Russell. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

PHYSICISTS have been recently giving overt expression to their sense of the moral import of scientific inquiry. But while their current activity as practical moralists is unusual because of its organized political character, such activity is no isolated event in the history of modern science. There have been few scientists of first rank who did not assume that the outcome of scientific research has far-reaching implications for the basic attitudes and beliefs of men; and few of them were not profoundly convinced that the habits of mind formed in such research have a moral significance not confined to the laboratory or to the study. Wisdom in private and public policy is possible only if competent knowledge and a reliable intellectual method are at the command of those who determine that policy. Accordingly, outstanding scientific workers in every age have sought to make accessible to lay audiences both the findings and the logic of scientific inquiry in popular form.

It is a truism that a democratic society cannot afford to let scientific knowledge and the scientific temper of mind be the exclusive possession of any special group. Current discussions

"I am a Negro American. All my life I have wanted to be an

AMERICAN"

Thus Spencer Logan begins his book, which tells frankly what one Negro thinks about America. With the perspective that comes from his experiences as a civilian and a soldier, he analyzes the handicaps and advantages with which he and other members of his race face life in America today. He makes some penetrating observations on the type of leadership which the Negro in this country has had, on the Negro's attitude toward miscegenation, on the Harlems of America, on the Negro soldier. He ardently champions a more democratic way of life for both whites and Negroes.

Mr. Logan is a veteran who served in France, Luxemburg, Germany, and the Pacific, and rose to the rank of Staff Sergeant in the Army. His manuscript was selected, from hundreds submitted by members of the armed forces all over the world, as first prize winner in non-fiction of the Macmillan Centenary Award.

"I have seldom read a more concise and reasonable statement of the principles of democracy than the one set forth in this book."—Edwin A. Peeples, *Atlanta Journal.*

Spencer Logan's

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of education are in general agreement on this central point, however much they may be in conflict over the specific ways by which the common goal may be best realized. But no system of formal education can hope to keep the vast majority in a society satisfactorily informed about fundamental advances in knowledge. Most adults must obtain their ideas on such matters from the literature of popularized science. It is therefore a genuine public misfortune that in this country the need for an adequate literature of science for the layman has received but scant attention from educational theorists or from competent scientists with a gift for popular exposition.

England has been more fortunate in this respect than the United States, and Clifford's deservedly famous account of the experimental foundations of applied mathematics is a brilliant example of what eminent British scientists have so often managed to achieve in the way of communicating lucidly the theoretical basis of modern science to a wide audience. Sixty years have passed since the book was first published, but no part of its contents is out of date, in spite of the great changes that have occurred in physics. The fact that Clifford was a man with prophetic vision and that the recent revolutions in science, contrary to a widespread view, have left untouched the fundamentals of its procedure explains the continued modernity of the book only in part. Its enduring value as an introduction to the natural sciences is in large measure the outcome of the manner in which Clifford envisaged the task of popularization.

This perennial task can be conceived and executed in several ways. A writer can emphasize the immediately practical consequences of scientific discovery to the exclusion of the general ideas underlying new inventions, and so generate in his reader no more than an uninformed wonder at the ingenious gadgets of science. He can deliberately attempt to bolster hallowed moral dogmas or a speculative philosophy by citing in evidence the latest alleged findings of scientific inquiry. He can direct attention to some of the sociological determinants of scientific advance, pointing out the influence of social needs upon the direction of research but leaving his reader no wiser as to the contents of theoretical innovations. Or finally, he can undertake the central educational job of making clear the major ideas involved in research, together with the general methods in terms of which the conclusions arrived at are warranted.

Clifford's book belongs to the regrettably small number of popularizations in this latter group. It deals entirely with technical matters, but he wrote it in the firm belief that the logic—though not necessarily the techniques—developed in the natural sciences is capable of extension to everything that pertains to man's interests. With Mach and Pearson, Clifford shared the positivist faith of so many in his age that with proper instruction in responsible intellectual methods men would abandon traditional dogmas and direct their blind impulses into reasonable channels of activity. It has become fashionable to revile this positivism as the primary source of contemporary moral chaos. In fact, however, integral to this philosophy is the classic view that what is good for man can be determined and realized only through the progressive employment of the rational methods of the sciences. Clifford and his contemporaries doubtless were unduly optimistic concerning men's willingness to take a scientifically disciplined reason as their guide in the choice of values; and they certainly underestimated the power of deep-seated emotions as springs of human action. But they cannot be fairly accused of lacking moral vision or moral fervor. Indeed, it still seems to many that the alternative to Clifford's conception of the moral significance of scientific method is an irresponsible romanticism in values coupled with the use of brutal force.

However, the moral motivations of positivism appear explicitly nowhere in Clifford's book. The chief evidence in it of his general outlook is his consistent application of the principle that scientific ideas are most clearly understood in terms of the operations involved in using them. Clifford's discussions are in consequence illuminating throughout, while at the same time they demand close attention from his readers. Indeed, the reader is offered no glib survey of spectacular conclusions in the sciences, nor does he become equipped to discuss with an appearance of learning the latest turns of thought in physics. But whoever does master the lucid expositions of the nature of number, geometry, and motion will have acquired a penetrating understanding of the unitary structure of mathematics, and will also be prepared to grasp the theoretical foundations upon which more recent scientific developments are built. Such a reader will be able to evaluate for what they are worth the widely current anti-intellectual critiques of science, and to judge whether these represent, as is often claimed, the profoundest wisdom.

A warmly appreciative preface by Bertrand Russell and

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Vol. 1 contains 100 pages, about 50,000 words. Vol. 2 contains 96 pages, about 45,000 words. Vol. 3 contains 96 pages, about 45,000 words. Vol. 4 contains 115 pages, about 50,000 words.

These four books contain practical counsel discussing the conduct of life from modern standards. They answer the question: What do present day men and women need to know in order to live wisely? Another question Sinclair asks and answers: What are the paths to happiness, the laws of health both of mind and body? Upton Sinclair, in these four books, discusses these questions in simple language and a spirit of good fellowship.

During the first 42 years of his life, says Upton Sinclair, he made many painful mistakes, but he learned much from them. Looking about him, he sees others making these same mistakes, suffering for lack of that same knowledge which he has so painfully acquired. This being the case, it seems a friendly act to offer his knowledge, minus the blunders and the pain. That explains the reason for writing the four books listed above.

Upton Sinclair writes as follows on the claims that may be made for the four books listed in this announcement:

"First, they are modern books. Their writer watches hour by hour the new achievements of the human mind, he reaches out for information about them, he seeks to adjust his own thoughts to them and to test them in his own living. Second, they are, or try hard to be, wise books; their writer is not among those too-ardent young radicals who leap to the conclusion that because many old things are stupid and tiresome, therefore everything that is old is to be spurned with contempt, and everything that proclaims itself new is to be taken at its own valuation. Third, these are honest books; their writer doesn't pretend to know what he only guesses, and where it is necessary to guess he says so frankly. Finally, they are kind books; they were not writen for their author's glory, nor for his enrichment, but to tell you things that may be useful to you in the brief span of your life."

In these four books Upton Sinclair attempts to tell you how to live, how to find health and happiness and success, how to work and how to play, how to eat and how to sleep, how to love and to marry and to care for your children, how to deal with your fellow men in business and politics and social life, how to think, what art to enjoy, what books to read. A large order, as the boys phrase it!

You will get a good idea of what Upton Sinclair covers in these four volumes by studying each book's chapter headings, as follows:

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an excellent account of Clifford's general philosophy, together with some notes on the text, by James R. Newman, the editor of the present reissue, add further value to a valuable book.

ERNEST NAGEL

BRIEFER COMMENT

Alexander Hamilton

THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS FATAL DUEL with Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton wrote of "our real disease, which is democracy." If the disease was spreading—Hamilton's Federalist Party was falling to pieces, and Jefferson, that "atheist in religion, and a fanatic in politics," was in the White House—it was not because Hamilton had failed to fight it through twenty years of public life.

As Nathan Schachner's able biography "Alexander Hamilton" (D. Appleton-Century Company, $4) makes abundantly clear, the erratic Hamilton was the most brilliant apologist for reaction yet to appear in America. In the continuing struggle between the special interests of the few and the common interests of the many the democratic ideals of Jefferson have in succeeding generations found their champions in Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt; the ideas of Hamilton have found champions aplenty, but never of the same caliber.

Jefferson, with more objectivity than Hamilton could muster, epitomized the difference between them: "One feared most the ignorance of the people; the other the selfishness of rulers independent of them." But Hamilton, who wrote scornfully that "I am not much attached to the majesty of the multitude," often served them better than he knew. As an author of the *Federalist* he fought hard for a Constitution in which he had little faith. As Secretary of the Treasury he enlisted the self-interest of the wealthy in creating a strong financial structure for the young nation. Because the poison of democracy "by a subdivision will only be the more concentrated in each part, and consequently the more virulent," he supported a strong central government.

Hamilton, however, was frustrated throughout his life in his greatest ambition. Though Schachner does not emphasize the point, Hamilton was ever ready to become the man on horseback in America. As a precocious youth in a West Indies counting-house he dreamed of military glory. That dream never deserted the Federalist who told Jefferson: "The greatest man who ever lived was Julius Caesar." As a youthful aide to Washington he fretted for a more dashing assignment, which he obtained, only briefly, under Muhlenberg at Yorktown. As a member of Washington's Cabinet he insisted upon the use of force against the "Whiskey Rebellion" and placed himself at the head of the militia which marched against the despised democrats. He dreamed of leading the United States in a war against France, the fountain of Jacobin ideas, and in a war of conquest against South America.

Schachner, the biographer of Aaron Burr, has written an excellent biography of Hamilton. He has made extensive use of unpublished material, and presents his findings judiciously and with care. If there is a fault to be found with the biography, it is that it is almost too judicious; there is almost an antiseptic quality about it. It is as if Schachner, for eighteen years a practicing attorney, had said: here are the facts, the evaluation of them is for the jury.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

The World of Vincent Sheean

IT WOULD BE EASY to set down one's agreements and disagreements with the political views expressed in "This House Against This House," by Vincent Sheean (Random House, $3.50). The author will have no part of the liberal criticism of our North African policy; but like any liberal critic he is discouraged almost to the point of despair by our Italian policy. And yet to concern oneself with these things in a review as brief as this would be to slight the real and singular value of this book, which lies in what I can only describe as the easy force and relaxed seriousness of its impressions. It is earnest and vivid and at times caustic; yet there is nothing of the revolting "high-octane" school of writing and nothing of dogmatism. Nor does the book fall into the other extreme of a spurious urbanity. Systems of politics have little attraction for Mr. Sheean, but his values are deeply and naturally believed. They are not beliefs of the head but of the whole man, and the record here set down has a consequent largeness and warmth.

That, I say, is the general tenor of this good book. Sometimes the author's power to set down the essence of an experience shocks one: the impressive pages on India illustrate his merits and demerits better than any others. The prostrate humility, the incredible and intolerable sensitivity within the abjectness of the Indian man and woman have rarely been described with such a sense of painful recoil. One is compelled to contradict Mr. Sheean when he says the British have done nothing in or to India. They have, one retorts, introduced an impossibly inappropriate system of private ownership of land. And so terrible is his account of Indian poverty and dejection that one is forced to ask why in God's name Mr. Sheean thinks it odd that so many Indians should have been indifferent to what they were bound to regard as Britain's defense of its empire against Japanese and German imperialism. Yet when the most violent debate is over, it must be admitted that no political formulation could be a reliable guide if it were not accompanied by an absolute recognition of the spiritual characteristics the author describes.

RALPH BATES

The Battle of Godly Wood

NEIL SWANSON is a newspaperman who has written a number of historical novels. In his recently published "The Perilous Fight" (Farrar and Rinehart, $3.50) he has written some superb history, combining scholarly research with skill in description, characterization, and incident.

The defense of Fort McHenry has become a part of the American legend because it was the inspiration for our national anthem. Mr. Swanson tells the story of an equally important but forgotten battle. But for the American victory at Godly Wood, won by the same militia who had been

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routed at Bladensburg but who were now commanded by General Sam Smith, an old soldier who also has been forgotten, Fort McHenry and Baltimore would have fallen, the "Star Spangled Banner" might not have been written, and the Treaty of Ghent might have been far different.

Mr. Swanson has established the importance of a neglected incident in our history. He has done it in a competent, scholarly fashion. Best of all, his history is vibrantly alive.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

FICTION IN REVIEW

IT WOULD seem, from the two novels I read this week, that the vogue for extravagant family reminiscence has hit our English cousins too. There is Nancy Mitford's popular "The Pursuit of Love" (Random House, $2.50), whose main burden is romantic, but whose first half, at least, can be read as an English "Life with Father." There is also Dane Chandos's "Abbie" (Putnam, $2.75), a series of orthodox anecdotal recollections of the author's eccentric aunt.

The tyrannical patriarch of "The Pursuit of Love" is Uncle Matthew (also known as "Fa," also Lord Alconleigh), a great patriot and xenophobe—he particularly hates Germans—a believer in horses and home cooking, and a gentleman of such rages that he grinds down several pairs of dentures a year. According to Miss Mitford, the whimsical graces of English upper-class children flourish mightily in such rocky soil. Valiant little riders and hunters though they may be, the Radlett youngsters are also given to a morbid sensibility about pet mice, to cute spontaneous verse-making, to dreams of love in an attic linen closet. The only warm spot in the great country house, this closet is called the Hon Cupboard. It is the place where the children play their favorite game of parceling the world into Hons and non-Hons. Hons are the offspring of Lords; a non-Hon is anyone the children dislike. Honorary membership in the Hons is bestowed upon a favorite stable boy, and we are little surprised when, in later years, the Spanish Loyalists can also be referred to as "terrific Hons." But some time before this natural widening of the Alconleigh horizon, Miss Mitford's conscious humor has begun to thin; from childhood reminiscence her novel has progressed to the emotional history of Linda, most beautiful and delicate-minded of Uncle Matthew's daughters, who after two unsatisfactory marriages, to a banker and a Communist, finds true love with a French duke who picks her up in the Gare du Nord. Miss Mitford has quite a few good things to say for French nobility—as lovers, as keepers of women (teaching Linda how to dress properly, the Duke throws her nasty English mink into the wastepaper basket), as doers of their Free French duty. Such fun as you will find in the so-to-speak adult sections of "The Pursuit of Love" is largely unintentional.

Attention should be called to one episode in Miss Mitford's novel which is so genuinely witty that one would expect a great deal more from its author—the meeting between Uncle Matthew and his new brother-in-law, a mild-spoken, rather wan literary man, as learned as he is hypochondriacal. The family is rather afraid to introduce this new relation, convinced that Uncle Matthew will despise him with all the vigor of his own non-intellectuality. Quite the contrary, however, Uncle Matthew conceives a deep respect and affection for the newcomer, based on the latter's refusal to discover the least value in any of the Alconleigh household treasures. A much-cherished bronze is pronounced Japanese and not Chinese, and therefore worthless; a collection of minerals, legendarily "good enough for a museum," is diagnosed as diseased and not worth keeping. "I never saw such a fella," says Uncle Matthew in delight before a scholarship of such destructive proportions.

Like Miss Mitford's Uncle Matthew, Mr. Chandos's Aunt Abbie also loves England, especially her flowers and animals, and hates foreigners, particularly Boches; similarly, she is a person of titanic passions, energies, and egocentricity—it seems to be a national-class characteristic. One of the wealthiest women in England, Aunt Abbie is shamelessly penurious; a born aristocrat, she is also without the sentiment of fear of her fellow-man—which may be perfectly all right so long as she confines her activities to making an ex-king pay her bridge losses or taking Bill Tilden on at tennis, but rings a different note when it moves her to cheat porters and taxi-drivers of their tips and to bully waiters and gardeners. Mr. Chandos's "Abbie" is described as "the wickedly witty portrait of an appalling and delightful female." Myself I found it more grisly than amusing, and not (I hope) as authentic a recollection as it purports to be.

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Films

JAMES AGEE

LILLIAN HELLMAN'S "The Searching Wind" is a study of the characteristic inability of Americans of good family and responsible position to admit what stares them in the face or, admitting it, to try to do anything about it. The personal and political aspects of the drama get in each other's way and, perhaps inevitably, lose in drive and shape by being staged to cover practically every major political crisis between the March on Rome and the immediate past. But the people themselves and the way they talk and think reveal many painful variations of our particular national brands of well-bred cowardice—political, emotional, and moral; and those who are more conscious and brave are given the limitedness, self-righteousness, and monotony which, unfortunately, are so often typical of them. People as highly civilized as these are seldom seen in the movies, and are still more seldom played with understanding. They are very firmly played here—though with touches perhaps of highly civilized ham—by Dudley Digges, Robert Young, Sylvia Sidney, Ann Richards, and Albert Bassermann. Their actions are very sumptuously and very well set, lighted, and dressed. And they are directed with his usual controlled intensity by William Dieterle. I can't feel that the picture will do any good, at this late hour, any more than it might have at an earlier one; nor, I fear, would any kind of dramatized self-criticism, no matter how deeply searching. But it is a careful, angry, honest film, and nothing it says is less apposite now than it would have been ten years ago, or twenty.

I did not read "Anna and the King of Siam"; after seeing the movie I am, to my pleased surprise, tempted to. I am not among those who take to Irene Dunne—as a rule she makes my skin crawl; nor do I wholly enjoy Rex Harrison's highly skilled, generally restrained horsing as the naively intelligent monarch whose good intentions enthrone him in a prattfall between his ancient and our modern world. There is indeed a good deal of high-polished and expensive cuteness about the whole production which stands, I suppose, as an apology for venturing to film a story that fits none of the formulas. But in spite of and through all this, the relationship between the rattled, irascible king and the English widow is often real, clear, and delightful, and occasionally very touching.

I cannot recommend "To Each His Own" highly enough to those who can still bear to be interested in what goes on in the cerebral powder-rooms of middle-class American women; or who still care to measure the depths to which some professionals will dive, self-deluded or otherwise, in the effort to profit by the pathological appetites of such women. In these terms it is an extraordinarily illuminating and skilful movie. It is skilful, in fact, however you look at it. But if you lack my all but necrophilic kind of interest in such stuff, you have fair warning. As for skill, any scientist can tell you what that is good for, irresponsibly employed.

Of course it is still possible to put it to work honorably; the results of that are so admirable in Laurence Olivier's production of "Henry V" that I must postpone any attempt to do the film honor until I have more space.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON Victor's July list is a recording of Randall Thompson's "Testament of Freedom" made by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony and the Harvard Glee Club (Set 1054; $3.85). The work, composed in 1943 to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth, is a setting of four passages from his writings. Perhaps music could be written that would have an expressive relation to statements like "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy but cannot disjoin them," or "We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery," or "Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great." But Thompson has not written it. Instead the words are fitted to a piece of patriotic musical oratory that involves them in moods, structural devices, and climaxes with which which they have no real relation; and the incongruous musical contexts rob the words of their own impressiveness and even make them ridiculous. The recorded sound of the performance is good.

It has been amazing to hear what popular pieces like the Overture to "Zampa" and Sousa's marches have sounded like when Toscanini has played them in recent years; and I once pointed out that a musically unsophisticated person listening to these performances of works that he knew well might be struck by the things that were different about them this time, and in this way might get an idea of the differences possible in performances, and of the particular qualities of Toscanini's performances, which previously he may have been inclined to think people only pretended to hear in order to show their superior understanding. Victor, which issued the performance of Waldteufel's "Skaters" Waltz last winter, now gives us a single record (11-9188; $1) with Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever" and Strauss's "Tritsch-Tratsch" Polka, recorded by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. The first performance of the march three years ago that was put on an army V-disc was better (it had, for example, a delicious lightness and lilt in the contrasting soft part of the opening passage, a breadth in the concluding passage, that the present performance does not have), but the present one is exciting enough; and the verve, sharpness, and buoyancy of the polka make it a breath-taking delight. The recorded sound of the march hasn't all the brightness of that of the polka.

The result justifies Toscanini's playing of a popular waltz or march; but there is no such result to justify Eleanor Steber's application of her cultivated style to Hoagy Carmichael's "Star Dust" or even to "Summertime" from "Porgy and Bess" (11-9186; $1). The voice sounds lovely; and Robert Merrill's baritone is richly sonorous in "Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes," which would seem to me to call for something else than the chiffon and rhinestone strings and harps and what not that swirl around the singing on a record (10-1218; $.75) that offers "In the Gloaming" on the reverse side. Stokowski's transcriptions of Tchaikovsky's "Solitude" and "Humoresque," which he has recorded with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra (11-9187; $1), are something to skip. And the remaining items of this kind on Victor's July list can go without comment.

After my last article had gone to press I received from another reader—a Viennese now in this country—the letter he writes me when I express a low opinion of some highly regarded work or composer. Each time he rebukes and corrects me by quoting at me the all too familiar phrases of the official opinion that I have rejected; and his perplexity,

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and indignation when I continue to reach my own conclusions are evident in his latest letter. "I really don't know what to think of you, reading your lines about the Brahms First: 'the worst of this dreadful work' (*The Nation* of June 8). Are you serious about it? Because that work always was (and is) considered to continue where Beethoven's Ninth left off. And the "Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians," edited by O. Thompson, says on page 225: 'The four symphonies [of Brahms] have taken their places among the masterpieces of their class and the world accords Brahms the symphonist a rank second only to Beethoven. The First Symphony is distinguished especially by its Olympian grandeur.' Is this not enough for you? I should be surprised at you..." And not—I foresee—for the last time.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Report from Austria

Dear Sirs: One of our representatives in Vienna recently wrote us that G. I.'s are stealing food from American canteens to feed Austrians. "The bread ration is 350 grams *a week*," he wrote. "There are no potatoes, no cereals. Meats and fats have been non-existent for the past year. The official ration is 900 calories a day, but for many it is actually only 700. The Belsen ration was 800. And in Wiener Neustadt the ration is about one-third of what it is in the capital. For the first time in my life I have seen people die of hunger. In the streets of Vienna it is a common spectacle to see someone collapse from general weakness. Yet in Vienna, as well as in the United States Zone of Austria, there is hope, an item completely lacking in Germany. Please rush delivery of fats, egg powder, powdered milk, cereals, canned meat and fish. . . ." We all applauded the heroism with which the Viennese defended the Workers' Homes built under the Socialist administration. Now we have our first opportunity actually to help the survivors of that struggle maintain a stronghold of democracy in Europe. All aid should be sent them through the International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, Chairman

New York, June 13

A Debt Is Due

Dear Sirs: We wish to bring to the attention of *Nation* readers the serious problem facing more than 10,000 non-citizen members of the American merchant marine. These alien seamen—of all nationalities—served heroically during the war. They were torpedoed and wounded. They helped deliver the goods to our armies and to our allies all over the world. *Today, they face dismissal from their jobs and deportation.* Despite their heroic service, they have no status in this country. With the resumption of peace-time restrictions, crews on merchant ships will be limited to American citizens.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is campaigning for legislation to grant citizenship to alien seamen with three years' war-time service in the American merchant marine (as provided by S. 659 introduced by Senator George Radcliffe and H. R. 4956 introduced by Representative Hugh De Lacy) and to grant legal entry to alien seamen with one year's war-time service (as provided by S. 1040 introduced by Senator Claude Pepper).

We ask readers of *The Nation* to write their Congressmen in support of the bills mentioned above. Further information on the campaign can be obtained by writing to us at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street.

ABNER GREEN, Executive Secretary, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

New York, May 22

Suggestion for the South

Dear Sirs: I have recently read of two important social and economic problems facing the marginal Southern share-croppers and the entire needlework industry: First, the colored share-croppers are being gradually displaced by mechanical cotton-pickers; second, the needlework trades need new workers to replace the older group of immigrants who were the principal source of the industry's labor pool.

It is my impression that the needlework trades could logically absorb the marginal share-cropper, giving him a much better standard of living and possibly giving the South a new industry.

If this proposal has any merit, an industry leader like Sidney Hillman and a committee of colored vocational leaders could plan a program including both immediate and long-range training for the industry. Such training could include employer-union sponsored apprentice courses in cities and vocational school training in the Southern states; thus a graduate could, immediately upon graduation, step into a job.

This proposal does not involve displacing any present workers, does not require too long training periods, and is suitable to both men and women of all working age groups.

WILLIAM KASSIN

Maywood, Ill., May 13

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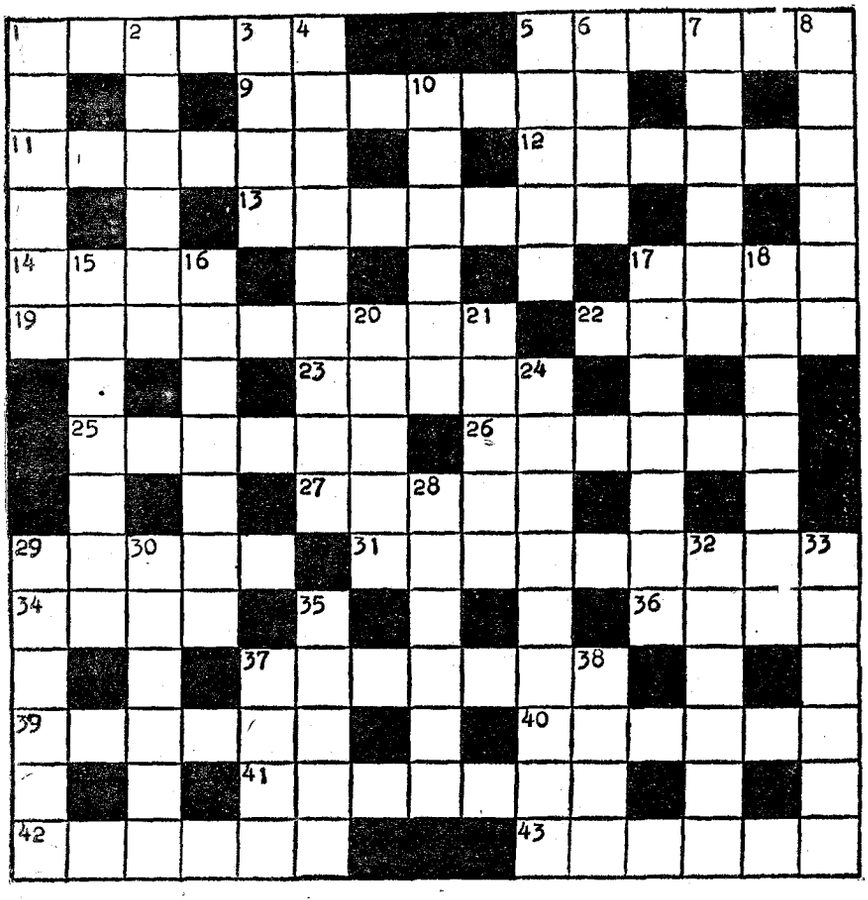
Crossword Puzzle No. 168

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Famous tenor whose voice could shatter a wine glass (?)
5 One who stirs up rebellion in the East
9 Men, too, wear them in Japan
11 Attack at the end of a Wassail
12 An idea that has taken shape
13 Fairy-like creatures
14 It sounds a costly animal
17 We are contracted
19 What an ass!
22 Alpine crownland in West Austria
23 This organ makes a trumpeting sound when blown
25 Baas
26 A matter of concern to women and boxers
27 Fair charmer with a strident voice
29 A classic race
31 Depressing
34 Not in employment
36 The departing one
37 Wedded and bedded
39 Beginning
40 "Rats? O!!" (anag.)
41 Doll has it in her
42 Third person singular? (3 and 3)
43 The eldest's right to first choice

DOWN

1 French landscape painter
2 Slice so called because it's quickly fried
3 Winter footwear
4 Artistic canvas cover (3 and 6)
5 The inventor hopes it is a working one
6 Practices
7 Hang about
8 One of the babes in the wood in the Humperdinck opera
10 Hateful
15 A sooty tern resolves the age-old problem of which came first
16 He sees that both sides get fair play
17 A good talking-to should effect a transformation
18 The daily round, the common task
20 It makes the desert habitable
21 Cut with a toothed tool
24 An improvement on hire purchase (4 and 5)
28 Became obsolete when breech-loading firearms were introduced
29 An un-American dancing partner
30 Puffed up
32 An application for cuts
33 Full of sand perhaps
35 A fallen angel
37 Plateau
38 Specks

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 167

ACROSS:—1 CYMBALS; 5 THURBER; 9 ARRANGE; 10 ASCETIC; 11 GRILL; 12 BED; 13 TULLE; 14 RESPECT; 16 EXCUSES; 18 DRESDEN; 21 OTTOMAN; 24 GIVES; 26 NYE; 27 BODES; 28 IDOLIZE; 29 BURGLAR; 30 HASBEEN; 31 DECORUM.

DOWN:—1 CHARGER; 2 MERCIES; 3 ANNUL; 4 SHERBET; 5 TWADDLE; 6 UNCUT; 7 BOTTLES; 8 RICKETS; 15 END; 17 CAT; 18 DOGFISH; 19 ENVIOUS; 20 NANKEEN; 21 OVERBID; 22 MEDDLER; 23 NOSTRUM; 25 SEINE; 27 BORIC.

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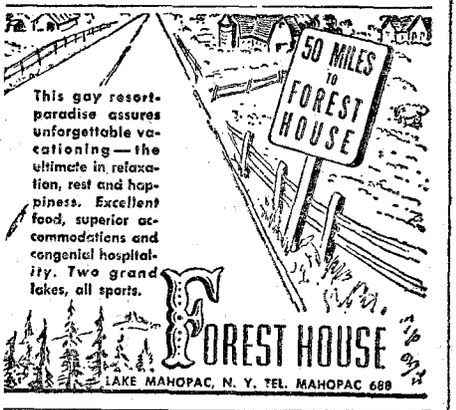
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